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ABSTRACT

Implications of developmental characteristics of youth are assessed for community education-work councils and the career education programs which councils might be expected to sponsor, in order to decide whether to evaluate councils, and if so, what outcomes councils might be expected to affect. Youth are defined to include pre-adolescent children in school (7-11 years), adolescents in or out, but primarily in school (12-18 years), and young adults in or out of school (19-24 years). The question of whether and why there are problems in how youth are encouraged or able to pursue developmental tasks is addressed by questioning five assumptions that motivate career education literature. These assumptions are the following: (1) Youth have excessive rates of unemployment. (2) Inadequate work socialization of youth increases youth unemployment. (3) There is a decline in the work ethic. (4) Youth do not have enough labor market information. (5) Youth unemployment is high because youth have the wrong work skills. Conclusions generally refute negative assumptions and suggest the need for specific labor market information. In addition to addressing school-work assumptions for youth in general, comments are made about the school-work transition of subgroups of youth (women, noncollegegoers, high school dropouts, and blacks) and questions concerning them which should be assessed. (TA)

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REASONABLE EXPECTATIONS: LIMITS ON THE PROMISE OF COMMUNITY COUNCILS*

Sue Berryman Bobrow

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INTRODUCTION[1]

BACKGROUND

Wirtz (1975), citing statistics on youth and adult unemployment rates, labor force participation rates, educational enrollment rates, and occupational distributions, briefly describes what he sees as work problems of youth. He proceeds to list the career education programs which are expected to affect these problems and argues for a mechanism for delivering these programs, *community education-work councils*. He sees these councils as lodged within the community, supported partly by the community, and composed of representatives of those groups who affect and should have responsibility for the transition of youth from school to work, e.g., teachers and school administrators, employers, labor unions, manpower agencies, students, parents, civic leaders. He sees that in recent decades responsibility for youth's transition to work has rested disproportionately within the educational system. However, the school's historical emphasis on academic training and the fact that it meets the economic structure along a narrow frontier restricts its ability to deliver career education programs effectively. Wirtz conceives of councils in response to his perception of a need for an institution which takes *primary* responsibility for *co-ordinating* the socialization of youth to work and the placement of youth into work. In other words, he sees councils as youth's *agent* and as the re-establishment of communal responsibility for youth's socialization to the productive aspect of adult life.

PURPOSE OF THE PAPER

The initial purpose of this paper was to assess the implications of the *developmental characteristics* of youth for:

- o community education-work councils; and
- o the career education programs which councils might be expected to sponsor

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[1]We are indebted to Thomas K. Glennan, Jr., P. Michael Timpane, Roger Vaughan, and Barbara Williams for their very helpful reviews of an earlier draft of this paper.

in order to decide:

- o whether to evaluate councils; and if so,
- o what outcomes councils might be expected to affect.

Youth are defined to include pre-adolescent children in school (7-11 years); adolescents in or out, but primarily in school (12-18 years); and young adults in or out of school (19-24 years).[1]

If we define developmental characteristics as those characteristics unique to a given stage of the life cycle, and if we restrict our interest to developmental characteristics relevant to work, these characteristics have few and straightforward implications for councils and the programs they might be expected to sponsor. These implications should be specified, and we do so briefly. However, we argue that the more important questions are whether the institutions that affect youth: (1) encourage them to *confront* the developmental tasks relevant to work; and (2) provide the experiences and information they need to accomplish these tasks satisfactorily. These are the questions about which career education and council proposals make several assumptions. The bulk of this paper questions these assumptions, in the belief that a decision to evaluate councils must be based on knowledge about:

- o whether there are failures in youth's transition from school to work; and
- o in cases of failure, whether the problems reside in the means of socializing youth to and placing youth in work or in the structure and cycles of the economy.

In other words, is there a difference to be made, and if so, can the programs which councils might be expected to deliver make that difference?

In sum, the concept of community education-work councils is essentially a delivery-system concept, i.e., the concept of a collaborative as opposed to a single sector structure, e.g., schools, for delivering career education programs. Consequently, questions about councils per

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[1]The career education movement embraces youth and adults, i.e., it is concerned with a smooth transition from school to work from work to school (e.g., Wirtz, 1975; Marland, 1974). However, this paper is only concerned with youth and their assumption of adult work roles.

se are primarily organizational questions and as such, lie outside of the scope of this paper. However, if an organizational analysis of councils indicates that they are a promising means for delivering career education programs, this paper should indicate whether they can be expected to have effects for youth and where those effects might be expected to occur.

ORGANIZATION OF THE PAPER

The paper is organized into three sections:

- *developmental characteristics of youth;*
- *career education assumptions about youth in general; and*
- *comments about the school-work transition of subgroups of youth.*

The first and third sections are short--the first because longer treatment does not seem warranted; the third, because there is no time to provide the systematic analysis which the subgroups require. The first section addresses all three groups of youth. The second and third sections concentrate on late adolescents (16-18 years) and young adults (19-24 years). There are more data for these ages than for younger adolescents. However, more important, these are the ages at which "the rubber meets the road," i.e., youth begin to move into the labor force and we can observe evidence and possible causes of work problems.

DEVELOPMENTAL CHARACTERISTICS OF YOUTH

DEVELOPMENTAL TASKS BY AGE GROUP

Figure 1 lists the *central* developmental tasks relevant to the world of work for the three groups of youth.

Age	Developmental Tasks Relevant to Work
7-11 years	o Development of a sense of environmental mastery and competence.
12-18 years	o Psychological accommodation of physiological changes. o Exploration and choices of mate, education, and occupation. o Formation of autonomous identity.
19-24 years	o Exploration and choices of mate, education, and occupation. o Formation of autonomous identity.

Fig. 1--Central Developmental Tasks Relevant to the World of Work by Life Stage

PRE-ADOLESCENT AGE GROUP

The pre-adolescent child is oriented to do, make, accomplish, control (Erikson, 1963). This competence objective is clearly conducive to productive, i.e., work, activities. Thus, pre-adolescent children can be expected to be receptive to any school efforts to achieve the career education goal of integrating general education with "various forms of exposure to the meaning of work and service" (Wirtz, 1975). This is particularly true if exposure to work involves *acting on, manipulating* the environment. *Acting on* is consistent with both Erikson's concept of *doing* and Piaget's proposition that the pre-adolescent child is in the cognitive stage of concrete operations, a stage compatible with perceptual and sensory-motor encounters with the environment. Councils may be important here in helping teachers to locate work-world objects that children can operate, e.g., a telephone switchboard, and in coordinating class field trips to observe highly active industrial processes, e.g., food processing.

ADOLESCENT AND YOUNG ADULT AGE GROUPS

As we examine the central tasks for adolescents and young adults, they are primarily ones of *transition*--away from parents and into adult roles, including work roles. In general, they are compatible with the objectives of career education. However, two important developmental tasks divert attention from, if they do not actively interfere with, the work orientation of these groups. One of these is learning about and psychologically accepting heterosexual love--in its erotic and *philia* senses. The other is the formation of a self-identity distant enough from the parents' to provide the youth with the autonomy expected of him in adulthood.

These two tasks have several implications for councils and the career education programs which they might sponsor.

o The peer group is important in working out both tasks, especially for the adolescent groups--although male and female adolescents tend to use it differently (e.g., Timpane, et al., 1976), and the individual uses it differently, depending on whether the objective is interpersonal physical and emotional intimacy or distancing from the parents. This

functional relation between youth and peer group places a limit on the extent to which adolescents should be separated from concentrations of their peers, e.g., moved from schools to work groups of diverse ages.

o Although the behaviors associated with these tasks (e.g., flightiness, rebelliousness, emotional extremes) are the most provoking, irritating, and distressing to parents, teachers, and employers, youths who do not resolve these challenges more or less satisfactorily encounter them later in their lives, often in inappropriate and costly contexts. Thus, *in general* we do not see them as behaviors which career education programs should try to "solve."

o For youth in general these behaviors may be frequent or extreme enough to place discernible limits on youth's task orientation. If this is the case, youth will be less attentive to career education programs, and career educationalists should limit the effects they expect.

o These behaviors may affect employers' willingness to hire younger rather than older workers--either because these behaviors in fact discernibly limit youth's task orientation *or employers think they do*. The relevant question here is whether youth are in fact less task-oriented than adults. Councils may be in a position to elucidate this question. For example, a youth's attraction to peers may reduce his productivity by diverting him from work. However, *adults* are strongly affected by peer pressure in ways which reduce their productivity. For example, adults clearly reduce their output in response to peer sanctions against "rate busters." Similarly, all stages in the life cycle involve certain emotional challenges which some proportion of the age cohort will act out, e.g., the depressions and sexual adventures of adult males who believe that their careers have peaked. It is not clear that a greater proportion of young than of older cohorts act out in ways which affect their productivity. Youthful acting out may be more flamboyant, but not necessarily any more devastating for productivity.

o Although adolescents and young adults are often at odds with their parents and parental surrogates (e.g., teachers), normal adolescents are positively oriented toward adults and adulthood (e.g., Timpane,

et al., 1976). In other words, they want to become adults, but to the extent that they need adult information and guidance to get there, they are reluctant to accept this help from parents or parental figures. Wirtz (1975) notes that there are currently no institutions which act as "young people's agents," implying that councils might serve this purpose. We agree that there are no such institutions for the school-work transition, although there are models for such institutions, e.g., in the health area (young people's clinics). We also agree that councils could serve as agents for youth, although this will not just "happen." Characteristics such as staffing would seem to have to vary depending upon council purpose.

SUMMARY

For the three age groups the central developmental tasks relevant to work are *generally* consistent with the intent of career education programs and community education-work councils. The adolescent and young adult tasks of accommodating heterosexual love and forming self-identities place certain limits on these programs, but they also indicate a particular role that councils might fill--that of agent for youth.

CAREER EDUCATION ASSUMPTIONS: YOUTH IN GENERAL

The question in this and the next section is whether and why there are problems in how youth are encouraged or able to pursue developmental tasks. The answers to this question will indicate whether career education programs and consequently councils can be effective, and, if so, how. We pursue it by questioning the assumptions that motivate the career education literature (e.g., Wirtz, 1975; Marland, 1974; Hoyt et al., 1973; Hoyt et al., 1972; Barton, 1976, Gallagher, 1976; Reubens, 1974; National Commission for Manpower Policy, 1976), and the major ones for youth in general are represented in Figure 2. It should be remembered that Figure 2 does not represent the assumptions made by any single author. Although there is considerable redundancy in assumptions in the literature, Figure 2 is a composite--hopefully a fair composite of the views to which career educationalists subscribe.

As Figure 2 indicates, the central problem is seen as the excessive unemployment rates for youth aged 16-24, particularly for those in the 16-21 age range (e.g., Hoyt et al., 1972; Marland, 1974; Barton, 1976; Reubens, 1974; Wirtz, 1975). The literature states several explanations, the first being the most sweeping:

- o fewer home opportunities today than in early decades of the century and restricted opportunities within school for children to absorb work values, knowledge about the labor market (including career alternatives), and work skills (e.g., Hoyt et al., 1972; Marland, 1974; Tyler, 1976; Reubens, 1974; Wirtz, 1975; Grubb and Lazerson, 1975);
- o lack of local and regional manpower projections to align skill supply and demand (Wirtz, 1975);
- o school daily calendars which prevent youth from holding certain kinds of part-time jobs and annual calendars which dump large numbers of students into the labor market simultaneously (Hoyt et al., 1972); and
- o legal and employer custom barriers to employing youth (Wirtz, 1975; Barton, 1976).

In this section of the paper, we question the assertions: (1) that youth unemployment rates are excessive; and (2) that these rates are attributable to the fact that youth are inadequately socialized to the world of work (i.e., reduced work ethic; inadequate labor market information; mismatches between skills supplied and skills in demand). The assumption about school calendars is briefly addressed in connection with the discussion of unemployment rates; the assumption about inadequate manpower projections, in connection with skill supply-demand mismatches. We do not evaluate assertions about the family or the school, except for the calendar question. The assumption about employer hiring customs is touched on in the last section of the paper in relation to non-college-going youth.

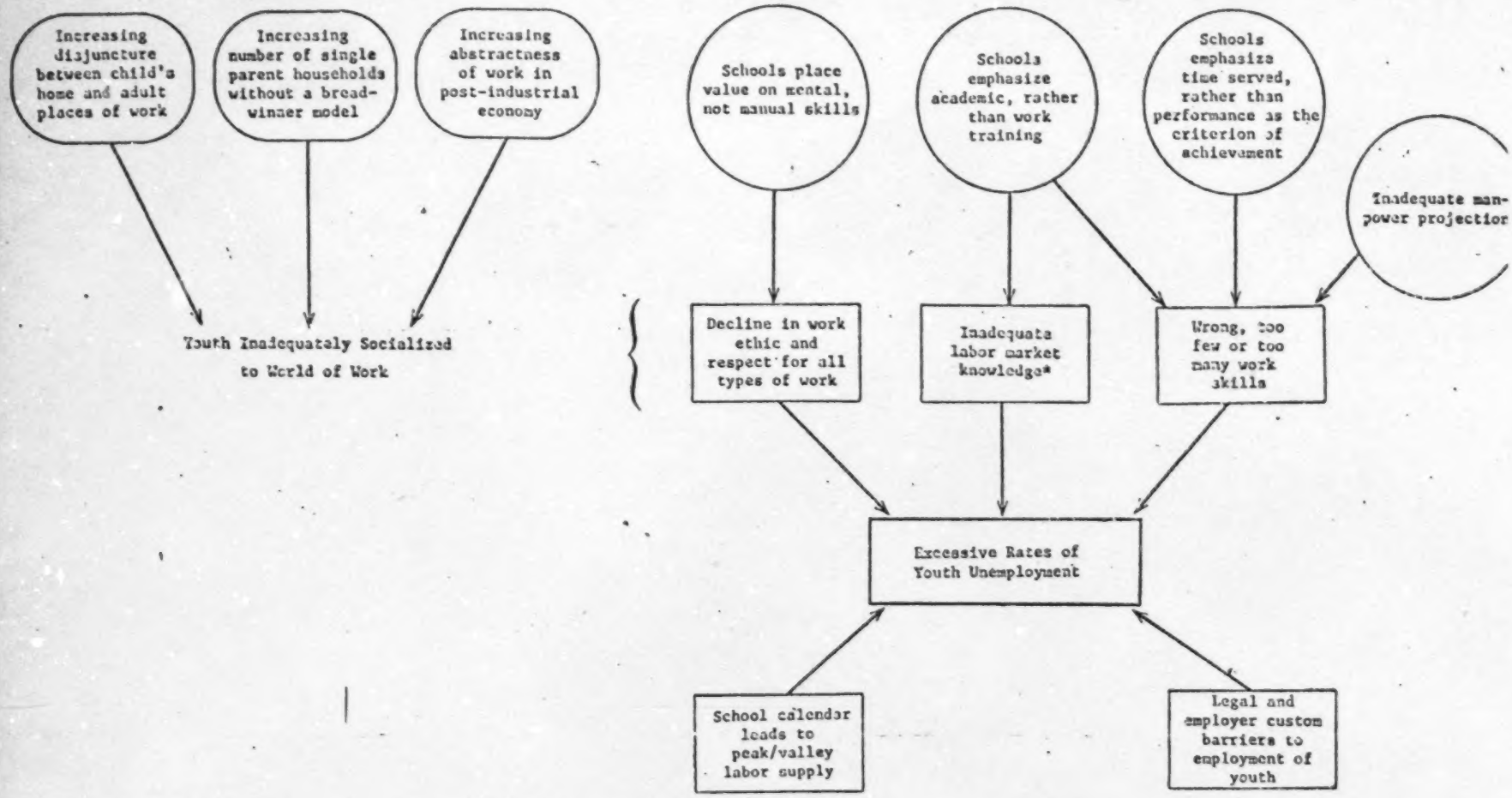
Increasing disjuncture between child's home and adult places of work
Increasing number of single parent households without a bread-winner model
Increasing abstractness of work in post-industrial economy
Youth Inadequately Socialized to World of Work
Schools place value on mental, not manual skills
Schools emphasize academic, rather than work training
Schools emphasize time served, rather than performance as the criterion of achievement
Inadequate man-power projection
Decline in work ethic and respect for all types of work
Inadequate labor market knowledge*
Wrong, too few or too many work skills
Excessive Rates of Youth Unemployment
School calendar leads to peak/valley labor supply
Legal and employer custom barriers to employment of youth

Fig. 2--Career Education Assumptions about Youth in General

*(career alternatives; employer alternatives; job search procedures; employer expectations)

ASSUMPTION: *Youth have Excessive Rates of Unemployment*

The first task is to assess the reality of the assumed problem: that youth have excessive rates of unemployment.[1] Undeniably, youth have higher unemployment rates than adults. On average, the rates for youth 16-24 years have been more than double the rates for adults 25 years and older (Table A-6, *Manpower Report of the President*, 1974). The question is whether these rates are excessive, i.e., higher than they need to be as the result of failures in the school work transition process.

Empirical Evidence

In interpreting these rates, several points are relevant. For youth *in general*,[2]

o Analyses of youth unemployment (e.g., Folk, 1968; Kalachek, 1969; Barton, 1972; Parnes and Kohen, 1976; Freeman, 1976) have consistently shown that high youth unemployment is heavily attributable to frictional unemployment. Unlike the adult unemployment group, the teenage group consists disproportionately of new entrants and re-entrants after a period of non-participation.[3] As such, the teenage group consists disproportionately of individuals who can be expected to spend some time in job search. When new entrants and re-entrants are eliminated from unemployment figures, teenage (14-19 years old) and adult (over 20 years of age) unemployment rates are very similar. For example, when new entrants and re-entrants are eliminated from the unemployment figures for both groups for June 1964-June 1966, teenage unemployment is 3.1%; the overall rate, 2.6% (Kalachek, 1969, p. 44). For the 1974 case, the teenage (16-19 years old) unemployment figure becomes 5.1%; the figure for all workers, 3.2% (Freeman, 1976, p. 4).

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[1] Note that getting *a* job, not the *quality of obtained* jobs is at issue here.

[2] Note that this section is not concerned with the unemployment problems of youth sub-groups, e.g., high school drop-outs or minority youth.

[3] In one period, June 1964-June 1966, teenagers 14-19 years of age accounted for 79% of the total unemployment attributable to initial job hunt (Kalachek, 1969, p. 43). In 1974, two-thirds of unemployed 16-19 year olds and 41% of all unemployed were new entrants or re-entrants.

o The unemployment rate of 16-19 year olds shows no long term trend, e.g., 14.7% were unemployed in 1960 and 14.5% in 1973. However, teenage unemployment rates fluctuate considerably in response to cyclical fluctuations in the economy. As indicated, a large proportion of teenage workers represent entrants or re-entrants into the labor market, i.e., "new hires;" the number of new hires, whether youth or adults, is positively correlated with the state of the economy;[1] and the substantial fluctuations in youth rates consequently reflect their special vulnerability to cyclical increases or decreases in demand for labor.

o The proportion of the unemployed who are teenagers has been increasing. From 1947-1962, the ratio of unemployed teenagers (16-19 years old) to unemployed adults was 1:5; from 1963-1965, 1:3; from 1966-1973, 2:5 (Table A-6, *Manpower Report of the President*, 1974). The increase in absolute numbers clearly coincides with the increazing proportion of the working age population which is 16-19 years old, i.e., the baby boom. However, when we correct for changes in proportions of different age groups in the total population, we find that the ratio of the 16-19 year old unemployment *rate* to that of adults over 20 years of age has increased steadily over time. For example, in 1947 that ratio was 2.74; in 1973, 3.8.

In interpreting this significant increase, several points are relevant. Teenagers are capturing a steadily increasing share of the jobs: in 1950, they held 6.3% of the jobs; in 1960, 6.3%; in 1965, 7.1%; in 1970, 7.8%; and in 1973, 8.6% (Table A-6, *Manpower Report of the President*, 1974). Thus, although their unemployment rates are higher, they are also obtaining more of the available jobs. More telling, however, is that the proportion of teenagers enrolled in school and their labor force participation rates while enrolled have both increased. In 1960, 63% of the 16-19 year olds were enrolled in school, and of those enrolled, 30% participated in the labor force. In 1973, 66% were in school and 42% participated in the labor force. From 1960-1973, the student labor

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[1]Teenage unemployment was running between 14.6%-16.8% during the 1958-1962 recession; between 12.2%-12.9% during the 1966-1969 expansion; (Table A-6, *Manpower Report of the President*, 1974) and between 14.5%-19% during the 1969-1975 recession (Table 571, *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1975, p. 349).

force increased by 130%. The proportion of the 20-24 year olds enrolled in school increased by about 61% from 1960 to 1972. The labor force participation rates for 20-24 year old male enrollees increased from 44% in 1960 to 53% in 1972; for female enrollees, from 41% in 1960 to 50% in 1972. Student workers are more apt to enter and re-enter the labor market than unenrolled workers of the same age. Since each decision to enter is associated with some probability of job search and thus an unemployed period, the increasing rate of teenage unemployment would seem significantly attributable to the increase in the student labor force. The nature of the increasing rate would seem to be primarily of a frictional unemployment type.

o The *length* of youth unemployment is consistent with a frictional unemployment interpretation of the youth unemployment rate. From 1963-1973, only 17% of the unemployed teenage males and 14% of the unemployed teenage females incurred long-term unemployment, i.e., 15 weeks or more. The 20-24 year old age group had even slightly lower rates of long-term unemployment. The long-term unemployment rate for youth 16-24 years old has varied from 50%-60% of the rate for all other age groups 25-64 years old.

o In the last half of their 20s, cohorts with high unemployment rates during the teenage years show the lower unemployment rates characteristic of the adult employment years. While this does not imply that unemployment during the ages of 16-24 years is inconsequential, it does imply that high rates of unemployment during the young adult years (16-24) do not presage a cohort life history of high unemployment.

Summary

Career educationalists define high rates of youth unemployment as a central problem. The rates are high relative to adult rates. However, the evidence suggests that the difference in adult and youth rates is importantly attributable to high proportions of youth entries and re-entries into the labor force. Disproportionately large youth cohorts are making the usual first market entries and increasingly tend to enter and re-enter the labor market several times during the teenage years. The higher

proportion of first entries and re-entries and the smaller proportion of teenage unemployed who are involved in long-term unemployment both imply that the difference in adult and youth rates is primarily attributable to the job search time normally associated with a decision to enter the labor market.

Implications for Career Education and Councils.

The evidence does not suggest a major malfunction in the school-work transition for youth *in general*. It does suggest the need for programs which reduce frictional unemployment, i.e., programs that reduce the length of job queues directly or by increasing information about available jobs. The market information problem inplies the need for effective job listing and job placement mechanisms.[1] Community councils would seem suitable for collecting information on jobs (part-time/full-time, temporary/permanent) available within the community. For young people in school, placing the individual in jobs located by the councils should be done in the place they frequent--the school itself. Data from the *National Longitudinal Study* of 1972 indicate that students would be receptive to job placement by schools: over 75% of the sample agreed that schools should help students find jobs when they leave school. For youth out of school, councils should survey job placement mechanisms in the community to determine if these youth have easy access to job listings.

Listings of jobs within the community are useful for young people who must or are willing to stay within the community. However, of those in the 1972 high school class who intended to work full-time in the year following graduation, a fifth preferred to obtain a job out of the community; a quarter were willing to move to obtain a job (*National Longitudinal Study*, 1975). For these individuals and for communities in

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[1]Graduates of the vocational curriculum have lower initial employment rates than graduates of other curricula in part because they are more apt to be working at a job prior to graduation and move into this job full-time at graduation. Of those in the 1972 high school senior class (*National Longitudinal Study*, 1975) who intended to work full-time or part-time in the year following graduation, about half (49% and 46% respectively) had no job lined up by the spring of their graduation year. For those in this group who would like to make a smooth school-work transition--and not all students do--a robust job listing-job placement mechanism which operates during the school year should be helpful.

which local employment opportunities are very limited, state or regional job listings would be helpful. While a community council might be a mechanism through which such listings could funnel, it is not in a position to compile such listings.

School calendars are directly relevant to the length of queue. Summer vacations and graduation times occur simultaneously for all students within a school and very closely in time for all schools across the nation. This practice dumps large numbers of teenagers on the labor market simultaneously. The peaks of the teenage unemployment rates coincide with scheduled school exits. Almost certainly some of this increase is created by the school calendar. If this is the case, school calendars prolong the search time for the average student and prevent some students from obtaining any full-time, short-term employment before school resumes.

It is not known *how much* teenage employment would be affected by varying school exit and re-entry times across the year because we do not know how much labor supply and demand would be affected by different calendars. Since changes in seasonal entries to and exits from school will affect teacher, facility, and family schedules and might affect the cost of education and businesses geared to current school calendars,[1] market surveys of employer demand and student labor supply under different conditions should precede changes in school schedules. Since communities differ in their industrial base and consequently in the extent to which they can and do use student labor, community education-work councils are uniquely suited to conduct such surveys and to debate the effects of changing calendars.

ASSUMPTION: *Inadequate Work Socialization of Youth Increase Youth Unemployment*

We have concluded that the high unemployment rates for youth in general do not indicate any *major* malfunction in the school-work transition for youth in general. However, the analysis of these rates was not

[1]Certain industries may depend on the *volume* of consumers produced by simultaneous school closings to make a profit.

nearly precise enough to eliminate the possibility that smaller failures in the socialization of youth to work are contributing to the unemployment rate. It is also the case that there could be disturbing failures in work socialization which do not show up in unemployment rates. For these reasons we try to estimate the extent to which assumptions about socialization failures might be true.

In psychology, intentional human action is considered a function of what the person wants, knows about, and knows how to do. The career education literature specifies socialization failures for youth at each of these points: diminished work ethic (*wants*), inadequate labor market information (*knows about*), and inadequate job skills (*knows how*). We question each of these points separately.

Assumption: *There is a Decline in the Work Ethic*

The career education literature does not specify where the presumed decline in work ethic can be observed except in youth unemployment rates (e.g., Hoyt et al., 1972). If we define "work ethic" as a positive value placed on work, with little concern for its conditions, a decline in the work ethic among the young should manifest itself as decreased labor force participation rates (or increased non-participation in the labor force); in preferences for unemployment over certain kinds of jobs available to the individual; and in increasing rates of absenteeism for youth workers.

Labor force participation rates. From 1947-1973, the labor force participation rates have been relatively constant for 16-17 and 20-24 year old males. The rates for 18-19 year old males have been inversely related to their rates of college enrollments. Female labor force participation rates have increased steadily for all three age groups from 1947-1973. In general, trends in labor force participation rates are more consistent with an *increase*, not a decrease, in the "work ethic."

Preference for unemployment over work. There are no systematic data on youth preferences for unemployment over certain kinds of work, although we do know that youth on unemployment insurance exercise their prerogative to reject jobs beneath their qualifications (Employment and

Training Administration, personal communication).[1] Thus, we can assume that at least some youth prefer unemployment over certain kinds of work. The following evidence is relevant to interpreting this finding.

o Recent survey questions indicate positive youth attitudes toward work per se. Of the high school graduating class of 1972, 85% of respondents selected "being successful in my line of work" as very important. This item was chosen by more respondents as being important in their lives than any other of ten items. The choices included such items as finding the right person to marry and having a happy family life, having strong friendships, and making lots of money (*National Longitudinal Study*, 1975).

In his comparison of college and non-college youth in 1969 and 1973, Yankelovich (1974) notes:

> Young working people, regardless of the nature of their work, say they are ready to work hard. They definitely are not looking for work that is not demanding. They do not shirk from physically hard work, and they are not worried about being asked to do more than they now do . . . [By 1973] both college and noncollege youth continue to reject, at 1969 levels, the idea of less emphasis on working hard (pp. 30-31).

o Basic youth values and behaviors are generally consistent with those of adults (e.g., Timpane et al., 1976). Relative to earlier decades of this century, *adults* are less willing to take any job, if only because of the economic cushions of social security, pension systems, unemployment compensation, workman's compensation and welfare. The conditions for receiving unemployment insurance indicate the extent to which this has become socially acceptable behavior: an individual is required to look for work while on unemployment payments, but not required to take a job beneath his or her capacities and training. The data indicate that adults on unemployment insurance exercise their

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[1]The Bureau of Labor Statistics is conducting a special survey to obtain more information on the jobseeking process. Each unemployed worker in the CPS sample will be questioned concerning the intensity and frequency of efforts made to find work, about how many job offers were refused and how suitable those offers were. A report on the findings is planned for late this year or early 1977 (Shiskin and Stein, 1976, p. 9).

right to turn down jobs.[1] Thus, to the extent that youth prefer unemployment to certain kinds of work, these choices have their counterparts in adult choices.

o The career education literature is concerned by what is perceived as a lack of respect for certain kinds of work. To the extent that preferences for unemployment over certain kinds of jobs are a function of a lack of respect of certain jobs, it is again important to ask about *adult* respect for these jobs. Prestige ratings of 90 occupations by national samples of Americans show remarkable stability across time (1947, 1963, and 1974)[2] and across subgroups of adult society (Hodge et al., 1965). Table 1 shows the results for the 1947 data.

Table 1

PRESTIGE RATINGS OF OCCUPATIONS

Classification	Average Score
Government officials (e.g., Supreme Court justice, Cabinet member)	90.8
Professional and semi-professional workers	80.6
Proprietors, managers, and officials (except farm)	74.9
Clerical, sales, and kindred workers	68.2
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers	68.0
Farmers and farm managers	61.3
Protective service workers	58.0
Farm laborers	52.8
Service workers (except domestic and protective)	50.0
Laborers (except farm workers)	46.7

SOURCE: Paul K. Hatt and C. C. North, "Prestige Ratings of Occupations," in Sigmund Nosow and William H. Form, ed., *Man, Work, and Society*, Basic Books, New York, 1962.

[1] Table 15A, *Unemployment Insurance Statistics*, July-August 1976.

[2] Score for occupations in 1947 and 1963 had a 0.99 correlation (Hodge et al., 1965).

Adults clearly accord substantially different amounts of prestige to different occupations.

Let us look now at youth occupational preferences. In the first survey of the graduating high school class of 1972, the *National Longitudinal Study* asked this question: "Which of the following occupational categories best describes the work that you would like to do?" Respondents could choose from fourteen major occupational categories ("government officials" was not a separate category). Four occupations accounted for three-quarters (74%) of their choices:

Table 2

FOUR MOST FREQUENT OCCUPATIONAL PREFERENCES
OF THE 1972 HIGH SCHOOL CLASS

Occupational Category	Percent
Professional, such as accountant, artist, clergyman, dentist, physician, registered nurse, engineer, lawyer, librarian, teacher, writer, scientist, social worker, actor, actress	45%
Clerical, such as bank teller, bookkeeper, secretary, typist, mail carrier, ticket agent	15%
Craftsman, such as baker, automobile mechanic, machinist, painter, plumber, telephone installer, carpenter	8%
Technical, such as draftsman, medical or dental technician, computer programmer	7%

SOURCE: William B. Fetters, *National Longitudinal Study of the High School Class of 1972: Student Questionnaire and Test Results by Sex, High School Program, Ethnic Category, and Father's Education*, National Center for Education Statistics, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1975.

Table 2 shows that youth's personal occupational preferences are overwhelmingly consistent with the occupational prestige orderings in the adult culture. We can reasonably assume that youth's differential occupational preferences reflect differential respect for occupations

and that the source of this differential respect is a highly stable rank ordering within the general culture.

o Most of the occupations in which the majority of youth work are those whose workers are most dissatisfied. Freedman (1976) calculated an index of inequality of occupational participation by age for 1970.

Table 3

FOR OCCUPATIONS, INDEX OF INEQUALITY BY AGE, 1970

Occupation	Index[a]
Professionals	32
Semi-professionals and technicians	77
Managers	22
Office clericals	113
Nonoffice clericals	179
Sales workers	165
Craftsmen	65
Operatives	95
Laborers	206
Service workers	144

SOURCE: Marcia Freedman, "The Youth Labor Market," in National Commission for Manpower Policy, *From School to Work: Improving the Transition*, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1976, p. 26.

[a]The percentage of employed who were < 25 in a particular sector divided by the percentage of employed who were ≥ 25 in that sector.

As Table 3 shows, youth are disproportionately represented in the clerical, sales, laborer and service categories. When we look at the *1972-73 Quality of Employment Survey* data on mean job satisfaction by occupation and age, three of the four occupations rated as least satisfying are ones in which youth are disproportionately concentrated (see Table 4).

Table 4

MEAN JOB SATISFACTION BY MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL GROUP AND AGE

Occupational Group[1]	Mean Job Satisfaction[2]				
	Overall	16-24 Years Old[3]		≥ 25 Years Old[3]	
Professional and technical (N = 323)	25	-10	(30)	30	(196)
Managers, officials, and proprietors (N = 319)	19	-14	(12)	23	(221)
Sales (N = 112)	11	-21	(7)	11	(67)
Craftsmen and foremen (N = 270)	8	-11	(35)	15	(190)
Service workers, except private household (N = 238)	-11	-25	(30)	- 1	(122)
Clerical (N = 364)	-14	-40	(56)	7	(158)
Operators, except transport (N = 198)	-44	-78	(46)	-34	(152)
Transport operatives (N = 56)	4	-34	(10)	12	(46)
Nonfarm laborers (N = 72)	-42	-54	(19)	-20	(34)

SOURCE: Robert P. Quinn and Linda J. Shepard, *The 1972-73 Quality of Employment Survey*, The University of Michigan, Survey Research Center, Institute for Social Research, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1974.

[1]The following categories have been omitted due to small numbers of cases: Farmers and farm managers, farm laborers, and private household workers.

[2]Mean values are based on a 28-question measure of overall job satisfaction. A higher numeric score indicates greater job satisfaction. The mean of this measure in 1973 was -2; its standard deviation was 84.

[3]The breakdown of satisfaction by age was run for us by the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan for this paper.

Thus, youth are more apt to be in jobs which are less apt to be preferred over unemployment if there are economic alternatives.[1] The sense of a decline in the work ethic may come from the sense that youth prefer unemployment over certain jobs more frequently than adults or more frequently than youth in earlier decades. In either case, this may be less a decline in the work ethic than the effect of increasing economic alternatives for a group disproportionately concentrated in jobs least apt to be preferred to those alternatives.

In sum, to the extent that youth prefer unemployment over certain jobs, they seem to be behaving in individually rational and culturally acceptable ways. Affecting this behavior would seem to require either increasing the attractiveness of certain jobs or reducing (or removing) the economic cushions which make unemployment more attractive than certain jobs. Both require leverage which career education programs, regardless of administrative auspices, are not apt to have.

Absenteeism rates. The final basis for assessing the work ethic proposition is youth absenteeism rates, preferably for youth over time and relative to adult workers. Unfortunately, we do not have trend data on youth absenteeism. There are cross-sectional data on absenteeism of young versus older workers. The *1972-73 Quality of Employment Survey* asked respondents who had missed any scheduled work within the two weeks prior to the interview: "How many of these days [in the last two weeks] did you miss just because you didn't feel like going to work that day?" Table 6 shows that except for youth in operator jobs, there was no significant difference between young and older workers in the amount of time missed because the worker did not feel like working.

Pursuing a similar concern, in 1975 the National Commission for Manpower Policy asked three major private-sector employers--one each from the retail trade, utility, and manufacturing sectors--to report in detail on their experiences with young workers (National Commission for

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[1] Responses to a Yankelovich 1973 survey of American youth 16-24 years of age are consistent with this argument. Respondents were asked whether or not they would work even if they had enough money to live comfortably. Of three occupational categories, blue-collar, white-collar, and professional/executive/managerial, 27%, 29%, and 18%, respectively, said they would not work. In other words, given an economic cushion youth are more apt to forego work in those occupational categories in which they are over-represented.

Table 5

MEAN NUMBER OF DAYS WORKERS MISSED IN PRIOR TWO WEEKS BECAUSE WORKER DID NOT FEEL LIKE WORKING, BY AGE AND OCCUPATION[a]

Occupation	16-24 Years Old		≥ 25 Years Old	
Professional and technical (N = 226)	0.10	(30)	0.03	(196)
Managers, officials, and proprietors (N = 233)	0.00	(12)	0.01	(221)
Sales (N = 74)	0.00	(7)	0.06	(67)
Craftsmen and foremen (N = 224)	0.09	(35)	0.05	(189)
Service workers, except private household (N = 152)	0.03	(30)	0.09	(122)
Clerical (N = 214)	0.05	(56)	0.05	(158)
Operators, except transport (N = 199)	0.15[b]	(46)	0.01[b]	(153)
Transport operatives (N = 56)	0.10	(10)	0.33	(46)
Nonfarm laborers (N = 53)	0.05	(19)	0.03	(34)

SOURCE: Robert P. Quinn and Linda J. Shepard, *The 1972-73 Quality of Employment Survey*, The University of Michigan, Survey Research Center, Institute for Social Research, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1974.

[a]These data were run for this paper by the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan.

[b]Difference between young and adult workers significant at $p < 0.01$.

Manpower Policy, 1976). Although the manufacturing company did not keep absenteeism rates by age, an informal survey of operations personnel managers indicated that absenteeism rates were higher for young workers in the hourly group. The utility company also did not have absenteeism rates by age. Absence from work was more frequent for newer than long-term employees, but the company felt the data did not establish an age-absenteeism correlation. The retail company found no difference in absenteeism for adult and young workers. In sum, there is no clear absenteeism pattern for these three companies.

Even if we assume that youth have higher absenteeism rates than older workers, there are alternative interpretations of any such relationship. Absenteeism is positively correlated with job dissatisfaction (*Job Satisfaction: Is There a Trend?*, 1974). As Tables 3 and 4 showed, youth are concentrated in the occupations least satisfying to both adult and youth workers. Thus, if we observe higher rates of absenteeism for youth than for older workers without controlling for occupation, the difference can be attributed to disproportionate concentrations in less satisfying jobs rather than a decline in the work ethic. If this is the case, as the cohort ages and moves into more satisfying jobs, the difference should disappear. Any initial difference is then not necessarily interpretable as a general decline in the work ethic. It can be seen as a preference for not working in certain kinds of jobs. Trend data for young workers would be necessary to discriminate between these alternative interpretations.

Summary of evidence. We have reviewed labor force participation rates, preferences for unemployment over certain kinds of jobs, and absenteeism rates for evidence of a decline in the work ethic for youth. The data do not indicate a decline for labor force participation rates; may indicate a change for the society in general in the value placed on less desirable jobs, relative to unemployment; and are indeterminate with regard to absenteeism rates. There is no evidence that youth are not interested in work per se. There is evidence that, *like their elders*, they prefer some kinds of work over others. Although these preferences can be interpreted as a decline in work ethic, it seems more plausible to assume that an occupational preference structure of some variety has always existed. The introduction of economic cushions over the last 40 years simply allows us to observe it by introducing viable alternatives to undesireable jobs.

Implications for career education and councils. As indicated above, what some career educationalists see as a decline in the work ethic, we interpret as increasingly revealed preferences of youth--and adults--for unemployment or non-participation over certain kinds of jobs. To the extent that these preferences are defined as a problem, the basic solutions lie outside of the scope of career education and councils: change the

attractiveness of certain jobs[1] or the costs of not taking them.

Assumption: *Youth Do Not Have Enough Labor Market Information*

The second set of assumptions about youth's inadequate socialization to work consists of assumptions about youth's labor market knowledge. Parnes (1975) distinguishes four kinds of labor market information which encompass the concerns of the career education literature: (1) general labor market information, or information about *career* alternatives; (2) specific labor market information, or information about alternative *employers*; (3) information on effective ways to search and apply for a job; and (4) information on employer's behavorial expectations of employees.

Empirical evidence. Youth in general lack information about career alternatives, desire more information, and vary in amount of information according to socio-economic status, race, urban versus rural residence, age, sex, and IQ (Datta, 1975; Parnes, 1975).

Our analysis of youth unemployment rates indicates that a sizable proportion of these rates are a function of frictional unemployment. Frictional unemployment is assumed to arise from imperfect information about alternative jobs. Thus, some proportion of the youth unemployment rate seems attributable to lack of information about alternative employers.

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[1]Career education almost certainly cannot change the prestige rank ordering of occupations in the culture. However, it may be possible to raise the "prestige floor" of some low prestige occupations by providing information about their social utility, salaries, and other benefits. For example, although the 1947 and 1963 NORC occupational rank orders were highly correlated, there was a net upward shift in prestige for blue-collar jobs. For example, "garbage collector" was ranked eighty-eighth out of 90 in both 1947 and 1963. It would be easy to show the social utility of garbage collection by showing its relation through history to community health. Since occupational prestige is related to public perceptions of the economic returns to an occupation, information on garbagemen's salaries and benefits in major cities should increase the prestige, if not its relative position, among occupations. Community councils do not seem particularly neccessary for this kind of career education.

There is some evidence that youth lack knowledge about job search and application procedures (National Assessment of Educational Progress, cited in Tyler, 1976).

We have no data which shows youth's knowledge of employer expectations for employee behavior. There are data on employers' perceptions of differences between young and older workers in their job behaviors from the three-industry survey conducted for the National Manpower Commission (1976). The utility company found no noticeable differences between young and mature workers, but the manufacturing company supervisors felt that young workers had more trouble accepting authority and the regimentation of factory life. They saw them as less likely to follow instructions and to work overtime and more likely to get into fights and to ignore work rules. The retail company survey of managers found differences between mature and young workers in responsibility, following through, attitude toward the job, concern for productivity, and quality of work. Youth were perceived as superior to mature workers only in ability to get along with others and in skill with machines. These differences in adult and young workers look like instances of the "diverting" behaviors discussed in the section on adolescent and young adult developmental stages.[1] As such, they may indicate, not adult-youth differences in *knowledge* about employer behavioral expectations, but differences--probably sporadic--in motivations, i.e., what some youth *want*.

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[1]Other bits of evidence are consistent with this interpretation. The utility company reported no noticeable behavioral differences between young and adult workers. Their youth new hires were also 84% female. The manufacturing company reported differences. However, they also commented that *although youth generally did not exhibit such behavior during their initial weeks of employment, they seemed generally influenced by peers* (National Commission for Manpower Policy, 1976, p. 51). Of these youth new hires, 80% were males. These differences in observed behaviors by sex are consistent with empirical data on differences in the ways male and female adolescents work out adolescent identity probelsm, e.g., differences in the role of the peer group (Douvan and Adelson, 1966; Timpane et al., 1976). Of course, they may only indicate that employers have different expectations for female than for male employees.

These industry data are only fragments, but they raise the possibility that lack of knowledge may account less for "unsocialized" work behavior than adolescent psycho-social processes of growing up. To the extent that this is the case, information per se will not necessarily affect the behaviors.

Summary of evidence. More or less systematic evidence indicates that youth lack and want information about career alternatives and job search and application procedures. The discussion of youth unemployment rates earlier suggests that at least some of the frictional unemployment is attributable to lack of specific employer information. The evidence on knowledge of employer expectations is fragmentary and equivocal, but suggests that behaviors that may be interpreted as indicating lack of knowledge may in fact indicate *motivations* which affect the work orientation of some youth at some times.

Implications for career education and councils. With the possible exception of knowledge about employer expectations, the evidence indicates that youth need better labor market information, especially knowledge about alternative careers and alternative employers. Thus, there seem to be needs, and they are ones for which career education programs should have leverage.

If we assume that career education programs give youth more labor market information, the question is what kinds of differences an evaluation of effects should expect. More *in-depth* information about alternative careers, including projected supply and demand, should give the individual more chances to reconcile his abilities, career preferences, and labor market constraints and opportunities, assuming that he is *able* to identify his abilities and preferences and *willing* to accept the socioeocnomic levels of the occupations implied by these different kinds of information.[1] *If* we can make these assumptions, we would expect informational programs on alternative careers to:

- o change the occupational distribution of youth at least by sex and race, but not change the occupational distribution for youth in aggregate; and

[1] More in-depth information about alternative careers could increase the dissatisfaction of youth who reject the present social and economic class structure.

- o increase job satisfaction for youth in aggregate, consequently reducing job turnover[1] and unemployment rates[2] for youth in aggregate.

The expected effect of information on career alternatives on wages and job prestige is less clear. The National Longitudinal Survey shows that inter-firm mobility is negatively related to wages and job prestige, but positively related to wage and job prestige *gains* (Parnes and Kohen, 1976). In other words, inter-firm mobility improves wages and job prestige, but does not equalize the wage and prestige positions of job movers and stayers--in part, perhaps, because initial wage and prestige positions determine the size of wage and prestige *increments*, i.e., the process is probably Markovian. To the extent that movers *change* jobs because they desire higher wages and job prestige and took their initial jobs because of lack of information about the returns to alternative careers, information on career alternatives should improve the wage and prestige positions of these individuals by giving them the information to select preferred jobs at the time of *initial* choice. Other National Longitudinal Survey data indicate that the more a youth knows about the world of work, the higher his wages and occupational prestige. The analysis holds several variables constant, but not IQ. The extent to which this relationship is attributable to labor market information, IQ, or both is not clear, but Parnes and Kohen conclude from earlier work that probably both influences are operating. Tentatively, we can conclude that more information on career alternatives should affect wages and prestige for those young people who want jobs with higher wages and prestige.[3] In other words, we might expect it to affect the *distribution*

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[1]Less satisfied workers are more apt to change jobs (Roderick and Davis, 1973; Parnes et al., 1971; Mangione, 1973). At the same time, more labor market information reduces search costs for the individual. It consequently may take less dissatisfaction to produce job changing.

[2]Job-changing is strongly and positively related to unemployment (e.g., Parnes and Kohen, 1976).

[3]While information on career alternatives may help the individual to identify what he wants from a job, it also helps him identify careers which meet his preferences. If money and prestige are not particularly valued, information on career alternatives will not affect wages and job prestige for these individuals. Certainly people want different things

of youth among jobs which vary in wages and prestige in part because such programs should equalize the informational grounds of the competition among those youth who want jobs with higher wages and prestige. However, we would not expect career information to affect *aggregate* measures of job wages and prestige.

As indicated in the discussion of youth unemployment rates, we would expect programs which provide information on available jobs to reduce that part of the unemployment rate attributable to frictional unemployment. Information on effective methods of job search and application should have the same effects. For reasons given earlier, we are less clear that information on employer behavioral expectations will affect young workers' behaviors.

In sum, youth lack certain kinds of labor market information, and we can expect that programs which provide this information should redistribute youth among occupations and possibly among wages and prestige levels of jobs. They should affect aggregate measures of job satisfaction, turnover rates, unemployment rates, and length of unemployment. To the extent that labor market information affects individual outcomes, programs which reduce the *variation* in labor market information by socioeconomic status, race, sex, and urban versus rural residence should affect the collective outcome of equality of opportunity.

Since schools are organized to convey systematic information, they are a possible institution in which to lodge labor market information programs. However, television would seem to be a more promising source for such programs. It is easy to visualize analogs to "Sesame Street" for information on career alternatives, the presentation of self aspects of job search, and employer expectations. There are already documented cases of youth running local television programs with job

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from jobs--for example, the *National Longitudinal Study* shows that twice as many respondents selected opportunities to be helpful to others or to society as a "very important" basis for career choice as selected chance to make a lot of money or having a position that is looked up to by others. At the same time, there is probably a "floor" on the wages and prestige desired, and many jobs youth obtain probably fall below the floor.

listings (Ferrin and Arbeiter, 1975).

Whatever the information source, different kinds of information should be introduced at different ages of the children. Information about available jobs and effective job search and application processes are most apt to be "learned" as young people can be hired for and are socially expected to seek jobs outside of those which arise within the family or neighborhood, e.g., at the time of the ninth or tenth grade. Younger children are more apt to internalize employer expectations, i.e., work norms, than older children. Information about career alternatives is basic to the child's social knowledge of the world and should be part of his education throughout the school years, whether through a social studies curriculum in school or television. However, *what* is introduced about careers should vary by age. Some careers, e.g., stock broker, physicist, state legislator, cannot be understood at even a simple level until the child has some grasp of a market economy, physical principles, and representative political systems. Similarly, certain characteristics of careers, e.g., pension plans, "perks" such as expense accounts, educational requirements such as "graduate school," have more meaning for older children.

If information programs are run within or from the schools, community councils could be necessary to their success. Their potential contribution to knowledge about specific jobs has already been discussed under youth unemployment rates. They could also be central to the success of programs on alternative careers. In general, teachers know only one category of occupation well--teaching, although they may know something about the occupations which use the subject matter they teach. Councils could put together--and some community groups have already done so (Ferrin and Arbeiter, 1975)--a group of "resource persons" from the community who are willing to show young people what different careers involve. If employers differ by community in how they obtain workers, councils are uniquely placed to survey local employers to determine the most direct routes to employment.

Assumption: *Youth Unemployment is High Because Youth Have the Wrong Work Skills*

We treat two assumptions which appear in the career education literature together here. Some authors (e.g., Hoyt et al., 1972) identify youth's lack of skills as a contributor to the high unemployment rates. Others (e.g., Wirtz, 1975) identify a mismatch between skill demand and supply as a contributor. Since lack of skills is simply one type of mismatch, we evaluate the skills question in terms of mismatches.

Let us define a "mismatch" as any one of these three situations: (1) a young person is trained for jobs that do not exist and not trained for ones that do exist which require training; (2) a young person is trained for jobs that do not exist, and jobs which require no training do exist; and (3) a young person is not trained for any jobs, and only jobs which require training exist. *We have no credible estimate of the incidence of each of these different types of mismatch.* However, we can marshal fragments of evidence which allow us to raise questions about the problem. The empirical evidence is discussed separately for the supply of and demand for skills.

Empirical evidence: supply of skills. Certainly we know that *mismatches of both types 1 and 2* occur.

o The first follow-up survey of the *National Longitudinal Study* asked the total sample: "While you were in high school, did you receive any special training intended to prepare you for immediate employment upon leaving school? (For example, auto mechanics, secretarial skills, or nurse's aid.)" Those who answered "yes" to this question were then asked specific questions about their experiences when they looked for work in the specialized area. Of this group, 35.5% stated that they could not find job openings in the areas for which they trained. It is not known whether the jobs did not exist or the applicants did not know how to find them. The former explanation implies a career education response of different or less training, depending upon what training available jobs require. The latter explanation implies a response of better job placement services and more labor market information for the applicants.

o Evaluations of vocational education programs (e.g., Somers, 1971; Reubens, 1974) show that approximately half of the high school, a quarter of the junior college, and a fifth of the post-high school vocational graduates obtained jobs unrelated or only slightly related to their field of training. However, some of these training-job discontinuities almost certainly did not represent either type 1 or type 2 mismatches. In the *National Longitudinal Study* first year follow-up of the high school class, 64% of the females and 53% of the males who took specialized training in high school got jobs in which they expected to use their training. Of those who did not obtain such jobs, 25.3% changed their work preferences and 9.5% were offered jobs in their field of training and declined them.[1] These results suggest limits on the extent to which skill demand and supply can be aligned, and suggest that skills obtained in high school do not buy students enough of an edge in the labor market to prevent them from changing occupations. This last point may indicate either that occupational training during the high school years should be enriched or that the jobs for which high school graduates qualify have "shallow" skill requirements.

We also know that *type 3 mismatches* (not enough skills) occur.

o Of those who answered "yes" to the *National Longitudinal Study* question about high school employment training (see above), a minimum of a fifth found that they did not have enough skills to obtain work in the area of their training.[2]

o With regard to type 3 mismatches in general, we know that the unemployment rates are higher for groups that are expected to have fewer

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[1] U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, *National Longitudinal Study: Base Year: First and Second Year Data File User's Manual*, National Center for Educational Statistics, July 1976.

[2] Of the group who looked for work in their area of training, 19.3% said employers told them that they were not qualified; 6.4%, that they did not know how to use the equipment or tools of the job; and 13.3% that they did not have the coursework or knowledge required of the job. Since a single respondent could have checked one or all of these outcomes, we can only assume that at least 19.3% did not have enough skills to obtain employment in their area of training.

skills, e.g., high school drop-outs and minority youth,[1] and lower for those expected to have more skills, e.g., occupationally trained high school graduates.[2] However, it is unclear to what extent these unemployment differences are attributable to variables other than differences in occupational training. The differences could be attributable to the characteristics of enrollees in training programs (e.g., more goal-oriented, higher basic verbal and computational skills), to auxiliary services associated with the programs--especially job placement, or to employers' use of academic and occupational education as a screen for hiring into jobs which do not require that education. To the extent that these variables account for differences, labor market information programs which involve less directed youth in career alternatives and choices, increased verbal and computational training, and intensified job placement programs may have more effect on reducing the unemployment rates of this group than more job skills.

Empirical evidence: demand for skills. Another way of trying to estimate the incidence of different types of mismatches is to ask about the demand for skills. Several points are relevant.

o In connection with the National Assessment of Educational Progress project on career and occupational development, the Bureau of Labor Statistics developed a list of the 50 most common jobs obtained by persons with less than a college education. A conference of persons from the Employment Service, high school vocational education teachers, and industry and business personnel directors chose 30 jobs from the list of 50 which are the major entry-level jobs for young people who do not go on to college. The list of 30 jobs did not include unskilled labor.

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[1] Tables A-16 and B-8, *Manpower Report of the President*, 1974.

[2] Several sources have found that occupationally trained high school graduates frequently have fewer and shorter periods of unemployment (e.g., *Manpower Report of the President*, 1970; Somers and Little, 1971; Evans et al., 1969; Stromsdorfer, 1972). However, it should also be recalled that analyses of data from the National Longitudinal Survey of young men for 1966 showed that while high school vocational graduates had lower unemployment rates than general education graduates, there was no difference in unemployment rates between graduates of vocational and academic or commercial programs (Parnes et al., 1969 and 1971).

It was estimated that approximately two-thirds of the jobs required academic skills and productive work habits, but very little specialized training. For most of those jobs that required training, it was estimated that the necessary training could be obtained in less than four weeks (Tyler, 1976).

o In analyzing the BLS series, *Employment of High School Graduates and Dropouts*, Reubens (1974) consistently found that from 1959-1971 only a small proportion of male high school graduates had first jobs which could be classified as using their school-acquired skills. She also noted that only a maximum of 20% of their first jobs could be classified as requiring any vocational training at all.

o The Tyler and Reubens data can be interpreted in different ways, One explanation is that high school graduates do not have the skills which allow them to obtain jobs which require more training--because they consistently do not obtain skills, consistently obtain skills not in demand, or change their work preferences so that their training no longer matches what they want to do. Another explanation is that only a small proportion of jobs available to high school graduates require special training.

There are data which indicate that the second explanation accounts for more of the variance than the first. Freeman (1971) found that college males are educationally highly responsive to changes in skill demands. It is true that college males have more labor market information than non-college males (Tyler, 1976). However, it is reasonable to assume that if there were a pool of jobs waiting for more or differently trained high school graduates, non-college males would have dicovered and responded to this fact in some way over the period 1959-1971.[1]

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[1]An analysis of labor supply and demand for the electronics data processing occupations showed that:

- o supply of trained labor increased markedly between 1968 and 1971 in response to a rapid growth in demand for the skills;
- o by 1971, if there was any market failure for these occupations; it involved over-supply rather than under-supply of trained labor (Haber and Goldfarb, 1976).

o Another way of trying to discriminate between the alternative explanations of the Tyler and Reubens data is to estimate the proportion of jobs for which training is required or training can substitute for experience and for which training tends not to be provided by employers.[1] *This set of jobs defines the upper limit on the amount of job skill training which inexperienced workers*[2] *require for successful competition in the labor market and which the educational system can efficiently provide.* Knowing something about the size of this set provides half of the information we need (demand side) to estimate the size of type 2 and type 3 mismatches (too many skills and too few skills, respectively). It will not help us estimate type 1 mismatches (wrong skills).

Estimating the size of this set proved to be very difficult.[3] In the absence of directly relevant data, we used the *Dictionary of Occupational Titles* (Third Edition, 1966) and the 1974 national employment figures for the detailed list of occupations (Bureau of Labor Statistics). To estimate the size of the set, we had to make a number of simplifying assumptions. Data problems, the nature of these assumptions, and the sizes of the different subjects which entered into the final estimate are described in Appendix A.

The final estimate was based on estimates of :

- o the set of jobs available to inexperienced workers, trained or untrained;
- o the subset of available jobs which require no prior training;
- o The subset of available jobs which require training traditionally supplied by the worker;

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[1]For example, secretarial jobs are usually filled by individuals who bring the required skills with them. However, telephone installer and repair jobs tend to be filled by individuals trained by the Bell System.

[2]We define an inexperienced worker as an individual with minimum job experience. Under this definition, a person can have substantial formal training and still be considered an inexperienced worker, e.g., a recent graduate of medical school.

[3]Several Rand economists and individuals within the Department of Labor were consulted in efforts to find directly relevant data.

- o the subset of available jobs which require training traditionally supplied by the employer;
- o the subset of available jobs which require training, but for which the source of training (employer or worker) is unclear.

The size of the last subset substantially expanded the range for the final estimate. The result of this exercise was the following: *the educational system can efficiently provide occupational training for a range of ¼ to 2/3 of the jobs available to inexperienced workers.*

Summary of evidence. This discussion of job skills indicates that: (1) mismatches of all three kinds occur; (2) the national and community incidence of each type is not known; and (3) the proportion of apparent skills mismatches which are in fact a function of youth preferences (or changes in preferences), weak basic skills, or bad job placement is not known.

Implications for career education and councils. Any *national* policy on occupational training should be based on more information than we now have.

In the absence of more information, it seems that projections of manpower needs in community, state, and national markets would be helpful *especially* for occupations which require lengthy and expensive training (e.g., the law, college teaching). Community councils seem a suitable group for constructing projections for local labor markets; state governments, for jobs in industries concentrated in the state. Since occupations with national markets tend to have professional associations, projections for these occupations may be most accurately constructed by these associations. Data on what happens to these projections in the schools indicate that evaluations of any community council attempts to improve skill supply-demand matches from the supply side (schools) should include implementation variables.[1]

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[1] Certain states (e.g., California, Ohio, New Jersey) and their communities are already trying to improve manpower projections and statements of training requirements and to communicate these to appropriate educators (Ferrin and Arbeiter, 1975). However, as Ferrin and Arbeiter observe, none of the four states examined had worked out satisfactory ways to convey manpower supply and demand data to school faculties, curricular specialists, counselors, or administrators. They also found that the information supplied to schools on occupational requirements did not result in changes in school programs and probably would have to be accompanied by explanations of what the requirements imply for program design.

A national policy of encouraging more occupational training for youth in general should not be undertaken without more evidence of skill "shortfall." To what extent is any apparent shortfall specific to certain groups? A function of weak job placement? A function of low basic skills? If there is no such *general* need, encouraging the educational system to provide it runs several dangers. It represents an inefficient allocation of resources; it sets up false expectations for youth; it encourages employers to use prior occupational training as a hiring screen for jobs which do not require training. There is accumulating evidence that all of these things are happening in higher education (e.g., Freeman, 1975; O'Toole, 1975a and 1975b). The use of training as a hiring screen is of particular concern. While it may be rational for youth as individuals to take advantage of employer credentialling practices, it is not necessarily a collective good. More training is apt to be obtained by those with more labor market information, i.e., by the non-poor and non-minority (Tyler, 1976), thus sustaining current employment and income inequalities. Occupational training in public educational institutions is also expensive for the taxpayer. If employers use it as a proxy for good work habits, it would be a more efficient use of resources to socialize all youth to employer expectations through other means--not through expensive skill training which is not necessary for many of the jobs available to youth.

Before dollars are invested in more or different training for youth, communities and states should assess whether youth are leaving the local and state educational systems with too few, too many, or the wrong kinds of skills. Again, at the community level, community councils would be well situated to conduct such surveys.

CONCLUSIONS FOR YOUTH IN GENERAL

On the basis of the evidence considered and for youth *in general*, we have reached these conclusions about the career education assumptions of Figure 2. We see the high rates of youth unemployment to be more a function of frictional unemployment than of major failures in the socialization of youth. We see evidence that school seasonal calendars exacerbate the frictional unemployment problem, but it is not clear that varying

calendars will substantially affect the problem. We do not see evidence of a declining work ethic in youth. We do see evidence of adult and youth preferences for unemployment over certain jobs as the result of economic alternatives to those jobs. We see a definite need for labor market information about career alternatives, specific employers, and methods of job search and application. We are less clear that youth need more information about employer behavioral expectations. Youth behaviors which violate these expectations may be more a function of what some youth want some of the time, rather than of what they know. We see evidence of skill supply and demand mismatches, but are unable to estimate the incidence of different types of mismatch or determine the extent to which they are in fact a function of youth preferences, weak basic skills, or bad job placement.

As a result of this analysis and for *councils in general*, we conclude the following:

o Some programs which councils might sponsor, co-ordinate or in which they might participate should affect outcomes for youth.

o There is no necessary reason to expect effects from certain other programs unless community-level surveys indicate that there is room for change.

o Implementation variables should be included in all evaluations of programs--failure can so easily be a function of how programs are implemented, not of the initial program concept. Including these variables is particularly important if the success of the program depends on several institutions. In this case the implementation "chain" is much longer and the probability of weak links much greater. Since councils are expected to co-ordinate and link community institutions, their programs are apt to involve long implementation chains. Including implementation variables in evaluations of council programs would therefore seem particularly important.

o Youth, councils, and communities do not exist "in general." Programs expected to affect youth in general will not necessarily affect youth in a particular community--room to change at the national, aggregate

level does not logically imply room at the local level. Councils are uniquely placed to determine the nature of the school-work transition experiences for local youth. Their programs are more apt to be successful to the extent that they are based on assessments of the local situation, whether or not we would expect the program to affect youth in general. The programs expected to affect youth in general thus just represent the first places that councils should look for problems at the local level.

The programs we expect to affect outcomes for youth in general are listed below. For each program we indicate what variables should change and for whom the change should occur.

o Information about alternative employers. We would expect job listing and placement programs to reduce that part of the local unemployment rate attributable to frictional unemployment. The effect should be for the aggregate of youth. Since these programs decrease the costs of job search, they may have two other effects. They may increase the labor force participation rates of those youth not in the labor market because of job search costs--probably students. They may also increase job turnover for those youth more apt to get less satisfying jobs.

o Information about career alternatives. We would expect these programs to affect youth knowledge about alternative careers, as measured by information tests. If the program recipients are from socio-economically diverse backgrounds, we would expect the program to raise the posttest mean scores and reduce their standard deviations.

We would also expect these programs to: (1) change the occupational distribution of youth by sex and race, but not the occupational distribution for youth in aggregate; and (2) increase job satisfaction for youth in aggregate, thus reducing job turnover and unemployment rates for youth in aggregate.

o Manpower projections for the local community. To the extent that training programs adapt to changes in the anticipated demand for skills, and these projections are available to youth who are making career choices, we would expect a reduction in that part of the local unemployment rate attributable to frictional and structural unemployment. The effect should be for the aggregate of youth.

o Information on job search and application procedures. We would expect this program to have small distributional, not aggregate, effects on local youth unemployment rates. Rates should become more equal for demographically different categories of youth. This assumes that youth vary by demographic characteristics in their knowledge of job search and application techniques and that such a program would not enable youth to capture a larger share of the jobs.

In the absence of more information, we would not expect the following programs to have positive effects on youth outcome.

o Changes in school calendars. We would expect a calendar change to reduce frictional unemployment and increase labor market participation rates for youth in aggregate only if estimates of local labor supply and demand indicate that a calendar change would have such an effect.

o Changes in skill training. We would expect changes in skill training to affect variables such as unemployment only if the changes are based on prior surveys of the incidence of different kinds of labor supply and demand mismatches.

COMMENTS ON SUBGROUPS OF YOUTH

This paper has addressed school-work assumptions for youth in general. However, some questions and assumptions are specific to identifiable subgroups. While this paper cannot evaluate these questions for these subgroups, we can identify the subgroups and major questions which we think should be assessed more carefully.

SUBGROUPS

The subgroups are women, non-college-goers, high school drop-outs, and blacks. For *women* we see the major problem to be knowledge of career alternatives, including their economic payoffs. The social concern with female career choice derives from the increasingly apparent connection between: women's limited career aspirations and expectations, women's limited career choices, and the limited returns in economic security to those choices, particularly for single women and married women who move from secondary to primary wage earner by virtue of the unemployment or death of their spouses or divorce. Even as of 1970, women are substantially underrepresented in seven of the eleven occupational categories used by the Bureau of the Census. They are substantially overrepresented in the other four categories (Tsuchigane and Dodge, 1974). The social and personal implications of this occupational distribution becomes clear when we look at the increasing rate of female-headed households with children and the relationships between female-headed households with children and poverty. In 1974 there were four million female-headed families with children, an increase of 250 percent over 1950 ("Household and Family Characteristics," *Current Population Reports*, series P-20). The number of female-headed household with children grew by one million alone between 1970 and 1973. The growth in female-headed households is attributable primarily to divorce (Sawhill, 1976), an event which is predicted to occur for a third of young couples sometime during their lives (Glick and Norton, 1973). Sawhill (1976) shows that 20% of traditionally male occupations (80% or more of all workers male), 48% of

mixed occupations (30% to 80% of all workers male), and 54% of traditionally female occupations (30% or less male) entail poverty-level wages ($3,000/year or less) for a high school graduate between the ages of 25-34. Thus, the majority of occupations in which women work do not allow a family to subsist above the poverty line. The same study reveals that when the female earnings function is used to predict earnings, half the women heading households with children who receive AFDC could not earn as much in the labor market as they are receiving on AFDC. Only a fourth could increase their income by as much as $1,000 by going to work full-time. However, if the male earnings function is used to predict earnings, only 17% are better off on welfare than from working. Slightly more than half could increase their income by $1,000 or more by entering the job market. In other words, particularly during times of high marital instability, the careers which women choose or to which they have access may entail substantial social and personal economic burdens.

In the case of *non-college-goers*, Barton (1975) points out that the occupational distribution of this group, particularly for males, is heavily weighted toward "teenage jobs" from the time of entry into the full-time labor force until age 21. In other words, this group is certified as prepared for adult life, but not admitted proportionately into adult jobs for about three years after high school graduation. While members of the group may prefer to "mill" around in the labor market for this period, Barton argues that individuals who prefer to enter adult jobs do not now have that option.

He attributes this fact to the combined effect of this group's inadequate work preparation and employers' non-rational preferences for youth over 21 years of age for adult jobs. He points out that if employers in fact are not hiring 19 year old high school graduates simply on the basis of age, it represents an instance of age discrimination remediable by legal action.

We have just two comments here. Case studies conducted for the National Commission for Manpower Policy of hiring practices in three corporations revealed the following:

o In 1972-1973, youth represented 35% of the manufacturing company new hires; in 1972-1975 youth averaged 45% of the utility company new hires; in 1972-1974 youth averaged 47% of the retail company new hires.

o The utility and retail companies reported new hires by age groups 16-17 years and 18-21 years. In the utility company, 95% of the new youth hires were 18-21; in the retail company, 75%.

o The substantial majority of new youth hires were hired into families of jobs in which there appeared to be clear and recognizable lines of progression.

o The substantial majority of new youth hires had the same access to training and employer-supported study as did new adult hires in the same positions.

These data are not clearly interpretable as a bias against hiring youth into adult jobs. The apparent contradictions among the data on this question may be a function of deciding whether a job is a "teenage job" or the bottom rung of adult jobs.

If the number and nature of jobs in the labor market are constant, legal action to obtain access for youth to better jobs will have the effect of displacing other workers to the less desirable jobs. Although it depends on which workers are displaced, this result may be socially less acceptable than the current situation.

In the case of *high school drop-outs*, we note two findings relevant to career education. Hill (no date) analyzed data from the National Longitudinal Survey of young men to determine predictors of dropping out. He found that knowledge of the world of work had the largest direct effect in reducing dropping out for non-whites. To the extent that dropping out is associated with negative downstream consequences for the individual (e.g., lower wages, unemployment, non-participation in the labor force), increasing labor market information may be useful for preventing dropping out. Hill also found that vocational education reduces dropping out for white youth and attracts those youth who are drop-out prone, as indicated by their family background and IQ.

In the case of *blacks*, the extremely high unemployment rate for both male and female blacks seems different in cause than the rates for youth in general (Anderson, no date). The problem deserves careful analysis to factor out the extent to which variables amenable to alternative career education programs in fact account for the observed rates.

We note a few points which might be kept in mind in such an analysis.

o To the extent that youth unemployment rates are a function of large 16-24 cohorts, these rates should decline for white youth by 1985 because of the projected decline in the size of the white 16-24 year old cohort. However, the size of the 16-24 year old black cohort is projected to increase over time, the number in the labor force being expected to increase from 2.6 million 16-24 year olds in 1974 to 3.3 million by 1985. Thus, black unemployment rates cannot be expected to decline as a function of smaller numbers in the labor force.

o The National Assessment of Educational Progress shows that about 20% of a national sample of 17-year-olds have not acquired basic reading, computational, and writing skills. These individuals come primarily from poor homes and live in inner cities or rural areas (Tyler, 1976). These data suggest that poor and urban or rural black youth need intensified training in *basic* skills, particularly to the extent that employers have an implicit literacy floor for hiring.

o The methods by which youth obtain work exacerbate the effects for black youth of industrial relocation from the cities to the suburbs. Of 16-24 year old workers, 34% said they obtained their current job through direct application; 30%, through friends and relatives (Rosenfeld, 1975). Since "direct application" implies physical appearance at the potential place of work, the geographical separation of black youths' residence and potential job sources reduces the chances of using this channel. Since friends and relatives of black youth are also apt to live in the city and face the same barriers to employment in the suburbs, they are less able to direct youth to jobs.

APPENDIX A

The *Dictionary of Occupational Titles* (Third Edition, 1966) estimates training requirements for occupations, although attempts to use these estimates have encountered anomalies in the data (e.g., Ekhaus, 1964; Scoville, 1966). For our purposes, the *Dictionary* has a more serious drawback. For those jobs which require training or for which training can substitute for experience, it does not indicate whether the employer or worker tends to provide the required training. However, by using the *Dictionary* and the national employment figures for the detailed list of occupations (Bureau of Labor Statistics), we can put together a crude sense of the *range* for the size of the training job set.

The first problem is to estimate the proportion of total jobs in the labor market available to inexperienced workers, regardless of training. We assume that jobs in the managerial occupational categories (both farm and non-farm) are not available to inexperienced workers, with or without training. Obviously, some inexperienced workers, e.g., individuals with MBA's, move directly into managerial slots. However, in general, these positions require an amount of on-the-job experience which young workers cannot yet have obtained. These categories represent 13% of the total jobs in the labor market. Obviously, there are jobs in other occupational categories which are not available to inexperienced workers. For example, an inexperienced worker with a law degree can become a lawyer, but is unlikely to become a senior partner in a law firm. Similarly, the craft and operator categories have many jobs available only on the basis of seniority, an age-related criterion which excludes inexperienced workers. However, we have no way of estimating what proportion of jobs in non-managerial categories are of this type. Thus, we are over-estimating the proportion of total jobs available to inexperienced workers.

Of the jobs assumed to be available to inexperienced workers, 34% would seem to require no prior training (80% of the sales workers; 50% of the clerical workers; 67% of the service workers; 100% of the laborers;

and about 45% of the farmers and farm workers). Since we assumed that all the craft and operator occupations require some training, this figure almost certainly under-estimates the percent of jobs that require no training.

Only 2% of available jobs clearly require training which is usually supplied by the employer (e.g., fireman, policeman, flight attendant).

About a quarter (26%) of the available jobs require training usually supplied by the worker (100% of the professional, technical, and kindred; 45% of the clerical workers; 8% of the service workers).

About two-fifths of available jobs require anything from trivial to extensive periods of training (100% of the craftsmen; 100% of the operators; 20% of the sales workers; 4% of the clerical workers; and 13% of the service workers). However, it is not clear who supplies the training for these jobs--worker or employee. Training for business-specific skills tend to be supplied by the employer; training for "transportable" skills, by the worker. However, it is difficult to use this criterion for estimating the proportion of craft and operator occupations with worker- versus employer-supplied training. Thus, the educational system can efficiently provide occupational training for a range of 1/4 to 2/3 of the jobs available to inexperienced workers.

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